DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 056 806 RC 005 729

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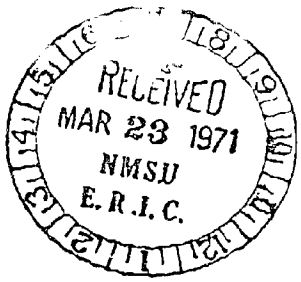
TITLE The Effects of Stereotyping on the Self-Concept of Mexican Americans.
SPONS AGENCY Southwestern Cooperative Educational Lab., Albuquerque, N. Mex.
PUB DATE 70
NOTE 35p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Failure; Anglo Americans; *Culture Conflict; *Ethnic Stereotypes; Expectation; Failure Factors; Identification (Psychological); *Mexican Americans; *Self Concept; Teacher Attitudes

ABSTRACT

Purposes of this literature review on the Mexcian American child were to explore the self-concept; cultural marginality, emphasizing resulting conflict and other effects; the occurrence and effects of stereotyping; and the results of studies undertaken to measure self-concept. Findings included that (1) the manner in which a person is dealt with by "significant others," especially in the early years, is considered to have a great deal to do with that person establishing a satisfactory identity and a positive self-view; (2) Mexican American children have been found to experience ever-present conflicting demands and pressures to do and be at school something other than what they do and are in the subculture; (3) many educators are seen to hold stereotypic views of Mexican American children due to overgeneralization of the literature regarding specific Mexican American populations--this affects the children's performance, as is maintained in the "self-fulfilling prophecy" theory; and (4) due to inconclusiveness of research on the Mexican American child's self-concept, the broadly accepted idea that Mexican American children, as a group, have a negative self-concept is a stereotypic view. Discussion of the review concludes that educators, "by seeing all or most Mexicans as 'fatalistic,' 'unable to delay gratification,' 'lazy,' 'dependent,' 'having negative self-concepts,' etc., and then reflecting these beliefs to the children with whom they deal," are forcing the Mexican American child either to reject the majority culture or to deny what he is. The only recommendation is to research why the Anglo insists on cultural homogeneity. (BO)



THE EFFECTS OF STEREOTYPING ON THE SELF-CONCEPT OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS

by

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for

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Albuquerque, New Mexico

1970

Effects of Stereotyping on the Self-Concept of Mexican-Americans

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Introduction

The assumption has been widely made that Mexican-Americans have an identity crisis and negative self-concept due to the necessity to interact in two cultures. It is further assumed that an overwhelming difficulty, although subtle in nature, that confronts him is the debilitating effect of stereotypic views of him that have been purported to be prevalent in the majority ("Anglo") culture. This stereotyping has been stated to occur in the following way: The Mexican-American (we are particularly concerned here with the child) sees that he is being negatively perceived by the Anglo (such as the teacher). This occurs in the Anglo because of negative stereotypic ideas that he has learned and holds onto about Mexican-Americans. As a result, the Mexican-American child develops correspondingly negative feelings about himself and has difficulty achieving a satisfactory self-identity.

In the following review of the literature we will explore: (1) the self-concept; (2) cultural marginality, emphasizing resulting conflict and effects on the Mexican-American child; (3) stereotyping, its occurrence and effects; and (4) the results of studies undertaken to measure the self-concept of the Mexican-American child.

A summary and a discussion of the issues involved follows the review of the literature. The paper concludes with recommendations for further research.

The self-concept

Evidence from man's past shows that he has been fascinated with the study of himself. As he progressed and learned about his world his study of himself also became refined. A breakthrough occurred in the 1800's when the early psychologists, particularly Sigmund Freud, began to study man's mental being and in their writings introduced the world to the science of Psychology. Since that time there has been an explosion in the study of man as a psychic creature with the study of the self as a focal point. In this review, which is a sampling of the conclusions that key psychologists, past and present, have come to regarding the self, we shall see how determinism and behaviorism has been supplemented by the more current humanist and existential ideas. Great emphasis is placed on the individual's environment and early experiences in shaping him into the self that he becomes. Psychologists have come to see man less as an object of nature behaving on an "action-reaction" basis to stimuli, and more as a unique being capable of learning to understand himself and choose his behavior. Thus the concept of self-concept has emerged and become increasingly seen as a vital element in human behavior.

Perhaps the earliest concise statement on the self-concept was introduced by William James. In Psychology: The Briefer Course, he demonstrated what he called the conceptualization of self-esteem with the following formula:

$$\text{self-esteem} = \frac{\text{Success}}{\text{Pretentions}}$$

He explains, "Such a fraction may be increased as well by diminishing the denominator as by increasing the numerator. To give up pretentions is as blessed a relief as to get them gratified, and where disappointment is

incessant and struggle unending, this is what men will always do...Everything added to the self is a burden as well as a pride...our self-feeling is in our power." Within this structure the behavioralist operates comfortably.

Freud (1856-1939) generally saw the self as the ground on which internal and external stimuli interact. However, from his libido theory (1900) through the development of the tripartate theory of the personality--id, ego, and superego (1923), Freud evidenced changes in his conceptualization of the self. His paper on narcissism (1914) turns from his more rigid theory of id psychology to ego psychology. In his consideration of the vicissitudes of narcissism in the normal individual he shows that an ideal ego is established--a step in judging one's self. Freud observes that there may be a special psychical agency that regulates narcissistic satisfaction from the ego-ideal and constantly observes the actual ego and measures it by that ideal. Such an agency can be recognized as "conscience." It is the instrument a person continually uses in judging his behavior. Conscience derives first from parental criticism, and subsequently from society.

Adler (1907* -1937) sees people as being more capable of determining and manipulating their behavior than Freud. According to Adler's subjective formula, the self necessarily becomes not only active but highly creative. The self creates the personality ideal, evaluates, experiences and "makes arrangements." However, Adler basically sees the self as doing this unconsciously--not being aware of nor understanding the process.

Beginning in the 1920's an important contribution toward the fusion of psychiatry and social science was made by Harry Stack Sullivan. Referred to as a "Culturalist" Sullivan stresses the importance of an individual's experiences in making him what he is. In his paper, "The Illusion of Personal Individuality,"

*The date of his first important publication.

Sullivan states, "While the many aspects of the physiochemical world are necessary environment for every animal--oxygen being one--culture, social organization, such things as language, formulated ideas, and so on, are an indispensable and equally absolutely necessary part of the environment of the human being, of the person."

Along somewhat similar lines, Karen Horney (1937* - 1950) investigated neurosis and analysis concerned with treatment and the ways in which the self begins to employ maladaptive behaviors. She states, " ..like any other living organism, the human needs favorable conditions for his growth...he needs an atmosphere of warmth to give him a feeling of inner security and the inner freedom enabling him to have his own feelings and thoughts and to express himself. He needs the good will of others...and healthy friction." Horney goes on to explain that when the child is not permitted to grow according to his individual needs and potentialities, possibly because the significant adults in his life are too involved with their own neurotic needs, he "...does not develop a feeling of belonging, of 'we,' but instead a profound insecurity and vague apprehensiveness...of basic anxiety." As a result the individual's attempts to molify and adjust become extreme and rigid. He lacks integration, a feeling of identity, and normal self-idealization becomes self-aggrandizement. He abandons his real self, which he never knew well and goes on "the search for glory," which constitutes (1) perfection, (2) neurotic ambition, and (3) vindictive triumph. While Horney stresses the importance of environmental conditioning in the life of the young child and the results of negative factors, she makes it clear that, "Each person builds up his own personal idealized image. Only the individual himself can develop his given potentialities."

In his book, On Becoming A Person, Carl Rogers (1961) discusses the

*In these years Self Analysis and Neurosis and Human Growth were written.

ever increasing awareness of the need for man to take upon himself the responsibility for being who and what he is in the "here and now." He explains that people don't wish to be burdened with the false fronts and facades they put on. The goal they are actively trying to achieve is to become themselves--often a painful and difficult search. He states that, "Often a person discovers that he exists only in response to the demands of others, that he seems to have no self of his own, that he is only trying to think and feel, and behave in the way that others believe he ought to think, feel and behave." Rogers concludes that, "The deepest despair and pain is for one to choose to be "another than himself."

In Man's Search for Himself (1967), Rollo May states that "Man's consciousness of himself is the source of his highest qualities--but he pays a high price--that of anxiety and inward crisis." May's message is that each man has within himself the strength to face and conquer his insecurities in t troubled age.

Coopersmith (1967) summarizes, "The views of previous theorists and investigators lead us to conclude that there are four major factors contributing to the development of self-esteem. First and foremost is the amount of respectful, accepting, and concerned treatment that an individual receives from the significant others in his life. In effect, we value ourselves as we are valued, and this applies to extensions of ourselves as well as the more centrally experienced aspects of our self-images. A second factor contributing to our self-esteem is our history of successes and the status and position we hold in the world. Our successes generally bring us recognition and are thereby related to our status in the community. They form the basis in reality for self-esteem and are measured by the material manifestations of success and by indications of social approval. These indices of success and approval will not necessarily be interpreted equally favorably by all persons. It is by

living up to aspirations in areas that he regards as personally significant that the individual achieves high self-esteem. Thus experiences are interpreted and modified in accord with the individual's values and aspirations. Success and power and attention are not directly and immediately perceived but are filtered through and perceived in the light of personal goals and values. The fourth factor is the individual's manner of responding to devaluation. Persons may minimize, distort, or entirely suppress demeaning actions by others as well as failures on their own part. They may reject or discount the right of others to judge them or conversely, they may be highly sensitive or aware of other people's judgments. This ability to defend self-esteem reduces the experience of anxiety and helps to maintain personal equilibrium. In the study of how the personality functions, this ability to maintain self-esteem in the face of negative appraisals and discomfiture has been described by such concepts as controls and defenses. These terms refer to the individual's capacity to define an event filled with negative implications and consequences in such a way that it does not detract from his sense of worthiness, ability, or power."

Literature Relating to Cultural Conflict

It is pertinent in an explorative paper such as this one to examine literature which relates to the more general area of culture. Specifically, it is of concern here to explore how the Mexican-American and the Anglo-American cultures differ and how these differences might possibly cause negative reactions in Anglos in the form of stereotyping the Mexican-American and in Mexican-Americans in the form of internalization of negative feedback and identity crisis.

Historical Perspective:

"The Mexican-American are a people whose cultural contributions to the Western hemisphere have yet to be measured," (Robert Finch, former Secretary

A Forgotton American, by Luis F. Hernandez). He adds that [illegible]

ks say enough about the Mexican-American and makes reference to their
erty, rejection of their language, cultural conflict and degrading segregation.

It is apparent and a matter of public record that Mexican-Americans have
ceived unfair treatment at the hands of the majority culture. They have
en chastised for speaking Spanish, segregated in the schools, and face
scrimination in employment among other injustices (Sanchez, 1951). Fishman
966) refers to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo which was signed after the
xican War of 1846-48 guaranteeing equal rights to persons of Mexican descent
o resided north of the newly established border. He goes on to state that
was clear from the beginning, however, who was in control. "Public services
re less than public and justice was unequal for persons of Spanish surname...
e Spanish language was considered disreputable or at best quaint."

esent Cultural Conflicts:

Today, while some such gross injustices do not so blatantly occur,
xican-Americans still face numerous difficulties. We are concerned here
th the more subtle effects caused by the demands and expressions of the
jority culture on the Mexican-American child as he develops.

Hernandez (1969) itemizes certain prevalent Anglo values which
exican-Americans are generally not acquainted with until they attend school.
e states that by then these cultural values generally have not been a part of
he Mexican-American child's heritage as they are of the Anglo child. This
akes it difficult for the Mexican-American child to succeed in the school
etting and for his teachers to understand him. These values are as follows:

1. Competition fosters achievement.
2. All students must plan for the future.

Hernandez is concerned with how the Mexican-American child comes to view
elf negatively as a result of these conflicts. He states, "Students who
one half Anglo and one half Mexican on the one hand reject many aspects
eing Mexican, but at the same time hold onto certain others, for they
no real identity as Anglos. When they try to adopt, and adapt to, certain
o characteristics, they find they are rejected for they lack the experience
ophistication to 'pull it off.' Repeated rejections or the anticipation
ejection soon place them in a situation where they realize they have no
tity at all."

According to Justin (1970), who administered a special questionnaire
pted from a similar instrument developed by the Institute of Behavioral
nce, University of Colorado) to 168 Mexican-American males and 209
o-American males who were high school seniors in four Tuscon, Arizona
ols, there are principally two differing cultural characteristics. These
(1) delayed gratification (future orientation) and (2) feelings of personal
rol (fatalism). (Delayed gratification refers to the tendency to be
ure-oriented, preferring to put off gratification. Fatalism refers to
assumption that planning ahead for the future is useless because uncon-
llable and intervening forces will determine what will happen anyway.)
se characteristics are shown to be significantly different between the
groups. He states that his findings indicate that, whatever culture
nge has taken place among the second-, third-, and fourth-generation
ican-Americans, it has not been great with reference to these two
racteristics. Justin feels that these factors should have important
lications to educators in terms of curriculums and the conflicts of
ture between themselves and their Mexican-American students.

rez (undated) specifically itemizes the following Mexican-American values those found to conflict most often with the value system of the schools:

1. The Mexican-American culture teaches the adolescent to be loyal to his family group, frequently resulting in subordination of the student's educational goals when the family is in need of his help.
2. The Mexican-American culture emphasizes the continued loyalty of its members to the group. A person who becomes Anglicized and forgets the other members of his group is looked upon as a traitor. This frequently places the Mexican-American student in conflict. He is uncertain about abandoning his culture in order to accept the cultural values of his school and vice versa.
3. The Mexican-American parent sees himself as an educator in his home. He considers learning experiences in the home to be just as valuable as the education the child receives at school. Anglo teachers and administrators, unaware of this value, frequently misunderstand Mexican-American parental attitudes.
4. The culture emphasizes "machismo" or maleness in the young boy. He learns he must never run away from a fight or break a deal and he must defend his honor whenever it is insulted. The

threatened by unsuspecting female teachers who are interested in maintaining their authority in the classroom.

5. The culture teaches young women to be modest and not to display their bodies in public. This usually creates problems in gym classes because students must wear shorts to classes and are required to shower with little or no privacy. Teachers often do not understand why Mexican-American girls refuse to attend gym and often attribute this to negativism and laziness.

6. Mexican-American parents, especially those of low soci-economic class, look upon education as most helpful if it involves some degree of vocational training. Frequently, this expectation is not met by the schools.

7. The culture emphasizes a strict separation of the sex roles. The male is the bread winner and head of the family, while the female provides the love and understanding which her children and husband will need. Her role is one of self-sacrifice and abnegation. The cultural values to which the Mexican-American school children are exposed to in the schools challenge this view. The individual is then forced to make a difficult choice.

8. Mexican-American parents are often taken aback by the business-like tone frequently encountered while communicating with their children's teachers. Naturally this results in alienation and causes the school to be seen as a negative rather than a positive institution.

Ramirez goes on to point out that the bi-cultural student not only faces conflict at school; he also meets conflicts in the home when the values he learns at school are opposed by parents. He states that the student eventually sees the school as the source of his frustration and ambivalence.

In another recent study conducted by Derbyshire (1969) the manner in which acculturation effects self-image is examined closely. In this study two groups of Mexican-American adolescents were compared to note differences in (1) those who had moved to East Los Angeles within their lifetime or whose mother or father moved from Mexico to East Los Angeles (migrants) and (2) Mexican-Americans whose father and mother as well as themselves were born and reared in the United States (non-migrants). Forty-one subjects were in the first group and forty-eight were in the second. Each youngster completed a thirty-four page questionnaire, covering personal and family history. The questionnaire sought subjective feelings and attitudes toward persons and values significant in the life of adolescents. Together with this data was a series of twenty-four concepts followed by nineteen Osgood Semantic Differential Scales. "These scales were selected to reveal concept differences for the male-female roles and American and Mexican value orientations, (e.g., proud-humble, dark-light, etc.). Each concept concerns itself with attitudes related to persons who may, for these adolescents, present problems of ego integration during adolescence (e.g., Mexican, Father, Mother, bullfighter, etc.). The most pertinent finding to

this review is that during the process of acculturation, migrant Mexican-American adolescents in search of self and adaptively meaningful behavior, utilize father, religion and Mexican culture as positive value orientations. Migrants not only place high value on these items but they also view representatives of these values as being different from self in a culturally positive direction. As the acculturation process extends through two or more generations, a major shift in value orientation takes place. Non-migrants in their search for a positive identity [illegible]ze inadequacy and strangeness as self-differentiating factors. In other words babies, crazy persons, father as I would like him to be, police, and Negro are all viewed by the established adolescent as people not like himself. Adolescent migrants utilize culturally positive value orientation representatives in differentiation of self, while non-migrant adolescents adhere to culturally negative value orientation representatives as a comparative reference group. This major switch from a positive value orientation reference group to a negative value orientation reference group probably has significant behavioral adaptive functions. The impact of United States society either reduces the importance of Mexican values as a part of these goals for adaptive reasons...or (sic.) after one or two generations in the United States it may be adaptively necessary for Mexican-American adolescents to overly view themselves as highly Mexican in order to defend against the "cultural stripping" process of American society... To maintain the values and seek the goals of Mexican culture while learning the culture of the United States may be the most adequate mechanism for adapting. However, as American culture consistently denies the importance of Mexican values, established adolescents are forced to overidentify and to some degree identify with the most visible or masculine aspects of the culture...This is not necessary for the new immigrants...It appears as though this overidentification has been dysfunctional to upward mobility and acculturation."

Similar to the findings of Derbyshire are those of Parsons (1970) who studied the psycholcultural functions of ethnic beliefs. Parsons reports that the Mexican-American's definition of himself is reciprocal to his definition of the Anglo, i.e. what he perceives the Anglo to be, he sees himself as the opposite.

Literature Relating to Stereotyping of the Mexican-American

According to Gordon Allport in The Nature of Predjudice (1954), "' stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category, and its function is to justify conduct in relation to that category."

Utilizing an interview technique, educational needs and solution data for Mexican-Americans in school were obtained by Palomares (1968) from 153 Mexican and Anglo-Americans in Fresno, California. These centered on the consequences of stereotyping Mexican-Americans and its affects on Mexican-American behavior and self-image. The sample included Mexican-American children, young adults, parents, professionals and members of organizations. The non-Mexican-American population was composed of citizens-at-large, teachers, principals, school managers and administrators in large city agencies involved with Mexican-Americans. The educational need data were collected by the use of an interview form which was simple and flexible enough to allow the interviewer to use his clinical ability in communication, yet had enough structure for some degree of consistency in the data gathered. These data were then assessed for numerical repetition amongst individuals and groups interviewed. Needs were abstracted and similarly analyzed from written documents. The data thus obtained and analyzed were submitted to interpretation and elaboration via the Needs Classification Matrix used as the key communication instrument of this study. The major conclusions were that the Mexican-American individual needs to be helped to develop a better self-image in his school relationships. This

learner need appears closely related to the need of educators and the majority culture in general to bring to the surface and explore examined stereotypi views they have concerning the Mexican-American and the negative school conditions which surround him.

According to Palomares, "The preconceived views of the majority concerning the Mexican-American lead to what can be best described as the 'cultural isolation' of this group. Two key preconceived views seem to be associated with and perhaps lead to cultural isolation. The first is the general diffused feeling that those things which are of the majority are better. This is known in its extreme cases as 'racism.' The second view is the preconceived notion that needs associated with the position of a minority in this country are not legitimate educational considerations. For example...if over 30% of an entire school population have speech problems related to a Spanish-English bi-lingual background, not one cent of the (general) school budget is allocated. This failure to deal with the unique features of an identifiable school population, whether done purposely or by oversight, still leads to the cultural isolation which is so devastating to the self-image and the consequent school conduct of the Mexican-American."

Among many others, some of the relevant findings, many of which resemble those of Ramirez (undated), are:

1. All Mexican-American youngsters and school personnel interviewed in one way or another touched on the fact that Mexican-Americans feel bad about being Mexican-American.
2. Educators' explanations for the lack of Mexican-American parents' involvement in the education of their children were:
    a. Mexican-Americans don't seem to be interested in the education

o[illegible]r children. They simply want [illegible]em to grow up to go out to work.

b. Mexican-American parents are ignorant of school process and are therefore fearful of getting involved.

3. Mexican-American parents feel that they are generally looked upon negatively by the school personnel when they visit the school and find that there is no one there who can speak to them in Spanish so they think that it is not productive for them to visit.

4. Teachers need to gain an awareness of their tendency to pay less attention to groups of children who are not backed strongly by their parents.

5. Educators need to establish new means of communicating with Mexican-American parents to start them on the long process of getting involved in the learning of their children.

6. There was unanimous agreement of those interviewed concerning the lack of information available on the Mexican-American to both teachers and students.

7. About half of all of the educators interviewed made statements indicating that they had observed other teachers who reflected feelings of superiority in their relations with Mexican-American students.

8. About a quarter of all educators interviewed admitted that they themselves had preconceived views of the Mexican-American and were actively having to work hard to overcome these racist feelings.

Perhaps the most recent classic study with respect to stereotyping and its implications for educators is described in the book, Pygmalion in the Classroom, by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968). The school used in the study is situated in a lower class community of a medium-size city. Of the 650 enrollment, there is a turn-over of approximately 200 students each year. Although the study was not concerned primarily with Mexican-American students, one-sixth of those attending the school were of Mexican descent. The purpose of the study was to determine what relationship, if any, exists between the behavior of the teacher based on his perception of the students' intelligence and the effects of this behavior on the students' intellectual growth.

According to the authors, "All of the children of Oak School were pretested with a standard nonverbal test of intelligence. This test was represented to the teachers as one that would predict intellectual "blooming" or "spurting." The IQ test employed yielded three IQ scores: total IQ, verbal IQ, and reasoning IQ."

"At the very beginning of the school year following the schoolwide pretesting, each of the eighteen teachers of grades one through six was given the names of those children in her classroom who, in the academic year ahead, would show dramatic intellectual growth. These predictions were allegedly made on the basis of these special children's scores on the test of academic blooming. About twenty percent of Oak School's children were alleged to be potential spurters. For each classroom the names of the special children had actually been chosen by means of a table of random numbers. The difference

between the special children and the ordinary children, then, was only in the mind of the teacher."

"All the children of Oak School were retested with the same IQ test after one semester, after a full academic year, and after two full academic years. For the first two retests, children were in the classroom of the teacher who had been given favorable expectations for the intellectual growth of some of her pupils. For the final retesting all children had been promoted to the classes of teachers who had not been given any special expectations for the intellectual growth of any of the children. That follow-up testing had been included so that we could learn whether any expectancy advantages that might be found would be dependent on a continuing contact with the teacher who held the especially favorable expectation."

"For the children of the experimental group and for the children of the control group, gains in IQ from pretest to retest were computed. Expectancy advantage was defined by the degree to which IQ gains by the 'special' children exceeded gains by the control-group children. After the first year of the experiment a significant expectancy advantage was found, and it was especially great among children of the first and second grades. The advantage of having been expected to bloom was evident for these younger children in total IQ, verbal IQ, and reasoning IQ. The control-group children of these grades gained well in IQ, nineteen percent of them gaining twenty or more total IQ points. The 'special' children, however, showed forty-seven percent of their number gaining twenty or more total IQ points."

"During the subsequent follow-up year the younger children of the first two years lost their expectancy advantage. The children of the upper grades, however, showed an increasing expectancy advantage during the follow-up year. The younger children who seemed easier to influence may have required more continued contact with their influencer in order to maintain their behavior

change. The older children, who were harder to influence initially, may have been better able to maintain their behavior change autonomously once it had occurred."

"In addition to the comparison of the 'special' and the ordinary children on their gains in IQ it was possible to compare their gains after the first year of the experiment on school achievement as defined by report-card grades. Only for the school subject of reading was there a significant difference in gains in report-card grades. The children expected to bloom intellectually were judged by their teachers to show greater advances in their reading ability. Just as in the case of IQ gains, it was the younger children who showed the greater expectancy advantage in reading scores. The more a given grade level had benefitted in over-all IQ gains, the more that same grade level benefitted in reading scores."

"After the first year of the experiment and also after the second year, the Mexican children showed greater expectancy advantages than did the non-Mexican children, though the difference was not significant statistically. One interesting minority group effect did reach significance, however, even with just a small sample size. For each of the Mexican children, magnitude of expectancy advantage was computed by subtracting from his or her gain in IQ from pretest to retest, the IQ gain made by the children of the control group in his or her classroom. These magnitudes of expectancy advantage were then correlated with the 'Mexican-ness' of the children's faces. After one year, and after two years, those boys who looked more Mexican benefitted more from their teachers' positive prophecies. Teachers' pre-experimental expectancies for these boys' intellectual performance were probably lowest of all. Their turning up on a list of probable bloomers must have surprised their teachers. Interest may have followed surprise and, in some way, increased watching for signs of increased brightness may have lead to increased brightness."

In a study by Parsons (1965) ethnographic and sociometric procedures were employed to study ethnic cleavage in a California village of approximately 1,800 people, forty-five percent Anglo-American and fifty-five percent Mexican-American. Observational and interview techniques were used in the community and school during a three year period with administration of sociometric instrument involving 491 pupils. The data indicated that:

1. There was a dramatic, almost total, cleavage between Anglo and Mexican-American adults in the community. This cleavage was supported by sets of mutually reinforcing stereotypes held by the members of the two groups.
2. The adult patterns were reflected within the school and reinforced by certain school programs, with marked cleavage in all grades, accelerating rapidly after the third grade. This cleavage was greater among girls than boys.
3. There was ninety percent cleavage by the sixth grade and one hundred percent by the mid-eighth grade.
4. Anglos at all levels had more in-group self-preference than did Mexican-Americans; but where prestige was involved, Anglos showed extreme in-group preference and Mexican-Americans showed high out-group preference.

Simmons (1961) in her research, conducted in a community in the Rio Grande Valley in Texas, found that major inconsistencies are operating in the assumptions that Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans hold about one another. She pointed out that Anglo-Americans consider Mexican-Americans

inferior but at the same time their equals or peers. Mexican-Americans are seen as having undesirable characteristics which make it justifiable to treat them differently from fellow Anglo-Americans, yet they are perceived by Anglos to have the ability to adopt similar characteristics which would promote equality. The Mexican-Americans' images of Anglo-Americans are also primarily negative with these negative images somewhat defensive in nature. She states that, "Some of the Anglo-American images of the Mexican have no ascertainable basis in fact, while others have at least a kernel of truth. Although some components of these images derive from behavior patterns that are characteristic of some Mexican-Americans in some situations, few if any of the popular generalizations about them are valid as stated, and none is demonstrably true of all."

According to Simmons, Anglo-Americans expect Mexican-Americans to become just like them in order to attain equal status, although this would mean relinquishing the old culture almost completely. Mexican-Americans, on the other hand, want to gain equal status and full acceptance regardless of whether they conform to the mores and folkways of the dominant Anglo-American group. Simmons concludes that if equal opportunity and full acceptance are contingent upon the disappearance of cultural differences, they will not be realized in the foreseeable future.

In his research regarding self-concept Carter (1968), interviewed the teachers and administrators of his Mexican-American sample. These educators indicated that they saw the vast majority of the Mexican-American students as having negative self-concepts; however the results of his research show that the Mexican-American subjects did not view themselves any more negatively than did the Anglo subjects. De Blassie and Healy (1970) and Coleman (1966) found similar results in their research. (See the review of the studies relating directly to the self-concept of the Mexican-American.) Evidence indicates that the hypothesis that Mexican-American children "as a group have negative

self-concepts," may be another stereotype that the Anglo has of Mexican-Americans.

Contrary to the findings of Justin (1970), Carter (1970), like Wenkert (1966) and Coleman (1966) found that the Mexican-American children in his sample were only somewhat more fatalistic than the Anglo children, despite the fact that the educators of the children used in the study reported that the vast majority of the Mexican-American children were fatalistic. The results tend to support the notion that the minority group youngsters studied were primarily concerned with the present and that planning ahead is not seen by them as useful because they are uncertain about their future. Carter carefully points out however, that "Whether such orientations are attributable to 'Mexican-ness' or lower class 'culture' is unknown." It is clear that the "vast majority" of these youngsters do not feel fatalistic. Carter concludes that, like many other notions, the belief that "Mexican-Americans are fatalistic," while true to some extent, is another stereotype and has become a false widespread assumption.

In discussing how educators have come to stereotype Mexican-American children, Carter points to the many documents which have been written, principally research studies and text books designed for teachers. Mexican-Americans are, in reality, a very heterogeneous group differing greatly from individual to individual and from group to group due to psychological, ethnic, linguistic, socioeconomic and regional factors. He states that, "Many such studies stress cultural differences rather than similarities. Many are dated, or are descriptive of very localized, often rural situations. Unfortunately, such information is regularly assumed to be correctly descriptive of Mexican-American culture in general. Another common assumption is that Mexican-American personality and culture are similar to those of other minorities." The "Folk Culture Concept" is Carter's term for the general way in which educators universally picture the life-style of the Mexican-American.

In a more general vein, Manuel (1965) discusses the mutual alienation and distrust between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans. The following

are some of the causes he sees:

1. In the past the two groups were rivals--at times enemies in armed conflict.
2. Since the war there has been a feeling of resentment on the part of the defeated and feelings of superiority on the part of the victorious.
3. Differences exist in general between the two groups in economic level.
4. People tend to underrate those who are different and not well known.
5. People tend to build up their own importance by depreciating the importance of others.
6. Between the two groups there is a lack of common ground in literature, art, traditions, heroic figures and other cultural products which bind people together.

Studies Relating Directly to the Self-Concept of Mexican-Americans

In her recent research, Hishiki (1969) examined two groups of sixth grade girls, one a group of Mexican-American girls in two East Los Angeles schools and the other, a group of Caucasian girls attending school in Clark County, Georgia to ascertain whether or not they would differ (1) in self-concept, (2) in the relationships between measures of self-concept and measures of intelligence and academic achievement, and (3) patterns of self-description. The instruments used in the study were a Self-Concept Scale consisting of adjectives the subjects related to themselves in degrees and a Child Self-Description Scale adapted from a previous study. Different tests for

achievement and intelligence were administered to the two groups. In the area of self-concept the Mexican-American girls scored significantly lower than the girls in Georgia, likewise their perceptions of their ideal selves were different when measured on the similar instrument. It was also found that significantly low self-concept scores go hand in hand with low intelligence and achievement scores in both groups.

It was interesting that many similarities between the groups could be noted such as in the area of feelings and preferences. For example, many from both groups indicated that they expected to "go to college." In view of the results of the research the author remarks, "...factors which contribute to achieving the desired goal of college attendance include future performance in school and individual motivation and sense of purpose. Therefore, it is the role of the school to provide every opportunity for bringing the reality and the aspiration level of the Mexican-American student closer together."

In a study by Palomares (1967) in the Coachella Valley in California, similar findings to those of Hishiki in the area of feelings and preferences resulted when parents of Mexican-American children were asked, "If your brightest child had the opportunities, what do you think he could become?" Over eighty percent of the responses were in the realm including skilled workers and above, with over sixty percent in the professional category. However, when asked "How far in school do you think most of your children will go?" less than forty percent responded that they expected their children to take any college courses.

Another recent study in this area is one by De Blassie and Healy (1970) in which 630 Spanish-American, Anglo-American and Negro ninth grade students in two schools in a south central New Mexico public school system (estimated population 30,000) were classified as to (1) scores on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS), (2) scores on the Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position

(ISP), (3) classification as to ethnic group membership, and (4) classification as to sex. The results, contrary to what had been hypothesized, revealed that no significant differences could be noted in the Total Positive scores between the three groups (the total index of all of the components of the TSCS). Moreover, the Spanish-American group received higher scores than the Anglo and the Negro groups on the Self-Satisfication and Moral-Ethical Self Components. The second hypothesis that subjects would exhibit differing degrees of a positive self-concept in direct relation to their positions on the socioeconomic scale was shown to be true. Partial support for the third hypothesis, that the sex of the subjects, would account for differences in the self-concept scores was found in the male's significantly higher Physical Self scores. The fourth hypothesis tested, that there would be significant interaction effects of the self-concept among the variables of ethnicity, socioeconomic position, and sex, was not confirmed.

In their discussion the authors reveal that among other factors affecting the outcome of the study was probably the unwillingness of Spanish-American and Negro subjects to convey derogatory information about themselves as was indicated by their Self Criticism and Defensive Positive scores. The authors also question their approach in attempting to measure self-concept. They refer to Wylie (1963) who questioned the validity of studying the self-concept as an overall or global self-evaluative attitude. She stated that the weak trends and lack of comparability among studies which treat the self-concept as a global measure may be partly due to an unanalytical approach to self, regarding attitudes. It was also conjectured that the Mexican-American and Negro groups' own ethnicities established norms by which they judge themselves. With respect to the high score of the Spanish-American group on the measure of Moral-Ethical Self the authors state that this probably occurred due to the important role and influence of religion in their sub-culture.

In a study by Coleman (1966), Mexican-American and Anglo-American twelfth-graders were given a questionnaire which tested their feelings about themselves

in the areas of ability and achievement in school. Responses of Mexican-Americans were seen to be slightly more self-depreciating as well as more undecided in measuring their self-perception in the area of ability to learn. With respect to comparing themselves in "brightness" to their classmates, fewer Mexican-Americans report that they saw themselves as "among the brightest" and more saw themselves as being below average, but again the differences were not significant.

In his study which was conducted in one of California's rich agricultural valleys, Carter (1968) gave a questionnaire to 190 Mexican-American and 98 "Anglo" secondary school students in which the individual student rated himself on a five-point semantic differential related to the adjectives, good-bad, wise-foolish, happy-sad, and strong-weak. Students told how they felt about themselves by indicating where they fell on the five point continuum between the two adjectives. Percentages of the two groups rating themselves on each of the five points between the four sets of differentials were calculated. Profiles drawn of the two groups were almost identical. In some cases, the Mexican-Americans had a slightly larger percentage rating themselves on the positive extreme. For example, twenty-one percent of the Mexican-Americans, contrasted to thirteen percent of the "Anglos," rated themselves on the extreme good side of the good-bad differential. Even on the wise-foolish continuum, a slightly larger percentage of the Mexican-Americans than of "Anglos" saw themselves as extremely wise. On the other dimensions, both groups had similar percentages. Median scores for the two groups were very close. On a good-bad scale, both groups had a median score of 3.1. On the wise-foolish and strong-weak scales, the differences were not noticeable. Mexican-American median on the intelligence item was 2.9, as contrasted to 2.8 for"Anglos". The power item reflected the same magnitude of difference--the Mexican-American median being 2.2, the "Anglo" 2.1. Only on the happy-sad scale did a larger difference exist; the Mexican-American being a little less happy than the "Anglo." As can be readily seen,

little or no differences existed between the two groups with respect to self-view.

With respect to possible reasons for these findings the author reminds us of the study's limitations, "The area studied is rural and agricultural, with a numerical majority of Mexican-Americans. Other situations, where percentages are different, where there is a less close-knit Mexican-American community, or where the setting is urban and industrial, may present other findings as to how the Mexican-Americans view themselves."

Summary

Examination of the literature regarding the self-concept indicates that becoming one's real self--integrating the real self with the ideal self--is a difficult process. Although their philosophical frameworks differ, the psychologists consistently stress that a person's environment and experiences, particularly how he is dealt with by the significant persons in his life, has a great deal to do with how well he establishes a satisfactory identity and a positive self-view. The early years are seen as being the most important and influential.

With respect to cultural conflict it is apparent that the Mexican-American child is faced with a number of value orientations and customs in the school with which he is not familiar. The blatant injustices that Mexican-Americans suffered in the past, while not completely gone, have largely given way to the more subtle ever-present conflicting demands and pressures upon them to do and be at school something other than what they do and are in the sub-culture. The literature shows that Mexican-Americans sampled do see themselves as being different from Anglos. In the case of one study, Mexican-American youth who were second or third generation East Los Angeles residents reacted either by abandoning or overidentifying with Mexican culture. New immigrants from Mexico do not face this conflict.

The literature relating to stereotyping of the Mexican-American shows its

occurrence on many levels and in many ways, having disadvantageous effects on the Mexican-American. It is apparent that what teachers believe about children results in affecting children's performance, supporting the "self-fulfilling prophecy" theory. Sociological studies show how Anglos and Mexican-Americans hold popular misconceptions about each other and rationalize to themselves their reasons for doing so. Stereotypic ideas about the Mexican-American have begun and are held onto by persons for a number of historical and psychological reasons. Many educators hold stereotypic views of Mexican-American children because they have overgeneralized the existing literature regarding specific Mexican-American populations.

Studies related to the self-concept of the Mexican-American are not in agreement. One study shows (1) Mexican-American girls having lower self-concepts than Anglo-American girls, (2) self-concept related significantly to intelligence and achievement, and (3) both groups had similar feelings and preferences. In another study, Mexican-American parental aspirations were shown to be high, but with a significant gap between aspirations and expectations. Three other studies failed to demonstrate that Mexican-American self-concept is significantly lower than the self-concept of Anglos. Due to the inconclusiveness of the research in this area, the broadly accepted idea that Mexican-Americans, as a group, have a negative self-concept is in itself a stereotypic view.

Discussion

The evidence points to the realization that Mexican-American children do not, as a group, suffer from a negative self-concept as a result of cultural conflict and stereotyping. As Carter found in his study, Mexican-American and Anglo-American self-concept appear to be equal and the Mexican-American children knew the stereotype. Carter explains that, "The majority of the people who gave information for this study believed that a high percentage of

Mexican-Americans suffer from an almost debilitating, generally negative self-view. It is necessary to suggest that many Mexican-Americans may not think of members of the dominant society as 'significant others' and may disregard the opinions of teachers, principals, policemen, and so forth. They may internalize instead the views of 'significant others' from within their own adult or peer society." Hence, we find that many Mexican-American children do not submit to stereotypic treatment and the pressures from cultural conflict which are present in varying degrees in the schools. Many are able to be their real selves because they do not see members of the dominant culture and its standards as being significant to them. The frustruation for them from cultural conflict and being treated stereotypically may be minimal, due to their inner security.

It is clear though that not all Mexican-American children are so fortunate. Since, as the literature shows, the process of becoming one's real self is difficult for any individual, it is important that members of the dominant culture who deal with Mexican-Americans remember that the Mexican-American child goes through an even more complicated struggle. Operating in two cultures is in itself a confusing matter but being treated stereotypically is even more handicapping. An insensitive Anglo teacher can corrosively add an extra burden to the Mexican-American child by not accepting him for who he is and by reflecting negative feelings about him. The child with inner security from his peer group, home and/or sub-culture can decide to ignore this Anglo as being insignificant, but it should be no surprise, if at age fourteen, he decides to drop out of school.

The child who sees the Anglo as significant is the one for whom there should be concern. If they are insensitive to his needs to be accepted as himself, he will try to please his teachers, the administrator, and others, and in the process, find it necessary to be someone other than his real self.

Tuck (1946 s ated, "Much of what Mexican-Americans have suffered at Anglo-American ha has not been perpetrated deliberately but through indifference, that has been done not with the fist but with the elbow." Devaluing a chi lture and letting him know that the view held of him is negative are injustices. According to Greenberg (1970), "The humanity of the teacher is vital ingredient if children are to learn." If the Mexican-American c is to achieve success in school and in society equal to that of the An child, educators need to look inside. By seeing all or most Mexican-Amer as "fatalistic," "unable to delay gratification," "lazy," "dependen having negative self-concepts," etc., and then reflecting these beliefs to children with whom they deal, they are contributing to a situation where the child is forced to make one of two unfortunate choices. The first choice is to dismiss what the majority culture has, and is, as insignificant, increasing the possibility that he will perpetuate his separation and lower socioeconomic status. The second choice is to deny what he is. Rogers (1961) has stated, "The deepest despair and pain is for one to choose to be another than himself!"

Recommendations for Further Research

It is true that research is limited on the Mexican-American, especially in the area of self-concept. Moreover, the research which deals with self-concept is conflicting. The principle study which showed Mexican-American self-concept to be equal to Anglo-American self-concept (Carter, 1968), however, took place in an area in which, typically, there is a great deal of separation between the two groups with the Mexican-American children generally not achieving up to the level of their Anglo peers (Melbo, 1961; Palomares, 1967). Even if the Mexican-American child shows a positive self-concept because of his close ties with his supportive sub-culture, what is gained by educators if this child has "turned off" the school and the majority culture and as a result does not become equipped to interact effectively in both worlds?

I recommend a shift in focus of research from the Mexican-American to the Anglo-American population. As has been pointed out in this review of the literature, reports of studies on differing Mexican-American populations conducted at different periods of time, have been frequently generalized by educators--causing them to develop stereotypic views and treatment of Mexican-Americans, complicating, rather than alleviating the situation. The literature also makes it clear that the school structure contributes significantly to the difficult position in which the Mexican-American child finds himself. This is due to the lack of understanding and acceptance of Mexican-Americans existing in many educators in varying degrees in the schools, which are generally dominated by Anglo values.

The sole recommendation for research of this paper is to turn our attention from studying the Mexican-American population to the study of the Anglo, who, as Kutsche (1968) documented in his research, insists on cultural homogeneity. As Kutsche recommends, the Anglo culture should be studied to explore why they will not permit other cultural patterns to enjoy their own

fulfillment unharrassed. More specifically it is recommended here that different types of approaches which attempt to change Anglo attitudes be compared. It is important that we determine, through research, which kinds of teacher pre-service and in-service training experiences are of the most value in helping teachers to become objective and accepting people who can deal effectively with Mexican-American children.

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